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IMMIGRANTS AND
THEIR INFLUENCE
in the LAKE REGION
OF CENTRAL AFRICA

THE FRAZER LECTURE IN
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

1923

By

JOHN ROSCOE, M.A.

HON. CANON OF NORWICH
AND RECTOR OF OVINGTON,
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THE first Frazer Lecture was delivered by the learned anthropologist, Dr Hartland, and I was therefore surprised when I was asked to deliver the second. In accepting this honour I realised that, while there are many more capable anthropologists who would have been proud to address you, yet I am able to impart special knowledge of a part of Africa, which may be of value. At the same time I feel my own unworthiness of this association with the name of Sir James Frazer, whose prodigious studies and indefatigable labours have done so much for the cause of anthropology. I am proud to call myself a disciple of Sir James, to whose inspiration I owe my first love for this important branch of study. It is interesting to see how, during the past few years, anthropology has attracted the attention of some of the greatest minds of this University, and how this study is yearly taking a higher place among the sciences, as its importance becomes more generally recognised. It was at Cambridge that Robertson Smith did his great work in this direction; and it was he who inspired Sir James Frazer to recognise the fascination and value of anthropology. Now Sir James in his turn is inspiring others to give their attention and labours to this study.

Many years ago my interest was aroused by a talk with him; and I have since then made careful observation of one part of Africa. I therefore ask your indulgence while I strive to lay before you some ideas respecting the influence of immigrants in what is known

as the Uganda Protectorate. For years it has been my practice to gather from the oldest members of any tribe of people whom I have chanced to meet information concerning their traditions and customs, with a view to obtaining a more intimate knowledge of their origin and a better understanding of their social and political development. Further I have sought, whenever possible, to obtain indications of age from such witnesses as stone objects and implements.

My investigations lead me to think that there have been at least three distinct races in the Lake region, each of which has left traces of its residence. There may have been others, indeed it is most probable that there were, but we are without definite evidence of more than three. Who the people were who left the earliest traces it is impossible to say, but there are indications that they were people of considerable intelligence. In one spot there are megaliths, some four times the height of a man, built up of great boulders so placed as to represent a giant figure, which was most probably intended to be worshipped; stone implements indicating a knowledge of working in stone have been found; and there are traces of buildings with stone enclosures, built by people whose knowledge of stone work far surpassed that of the inhabitants whom the first European travellers found in the country. In other places, too, we have found holes of considerable depth, which are held by the Government geologist to be the remains of shafts from which ironstone was dug. At the time when I first heard of these, they were regarded as entrances to the home of the god of the under-world, and were considered too sacred to be visited without offerings of cattle, being always approached in fear and trembling. Thirty years

ago I found one or two stone objects which were being used as fetishes, and these are now in our Museum. Whether we are to regard these discoveries as indicating a race belonging to a remote stone age or a race of a later date when that age was merging into the iron age, is more than we can decide with our present information. They form, however, proofs of the existence of an earlier set of immigrants, who have completely vanished, leaving no trace of their manner of life and only a bare indication of their existence.

The next inhabitants of whose existence we have evidence are a less intelligent people, the negroes whose descendants are in the land at the present day. From these it is possible to learn what life was like in the times before the more recent migrations, which latter have considerably changed the country and the manners of the people. In speaking of these negro people, I think it will be best to treat first of the lower orders and to show their development and the influence upon them of contact with Europeans.

The lowest order of these negroids, I think, is the people to be found on the mountain ridges of Ruwenzori and Elgon, whither they have retired in order to be free from the incursions of stronger tribes, especially the later intruders, who were chiefly pastoral.

These groups of negroids are numerous; they seldom deserve the title of a tribe, for they are little more than groups of families, the descendants often of a common parent. The different groups, however, hold aloof from each other and seldom intermarry. Each group has its social divisions or clans, with their distinctive *muziro* or totems by which they recognise relationship and arrange their marriage alliances. The largest of these groups or

tribes numbers only about one thousand, and few of them are numerically of importance. Some of these refugees, even to the present day, have resisted the further advance of the conquerors of the plains and maintained their independence. They have also resisted the change of customs which necessarily follows when intercourse with outside peoples is established. To these small tribes and especially to those on Ruwenzori we may look with some confidence for a knowledge of what were the common habits and customs of the tribes who at an earlier date inhabited the plains.

The members of each tribe form their own small communities separate from other tribes, but inter-tribal relations are on the whole peaceable. Some tribes, such as the Bakyiga and the Bagesu, are of an unfriendly disposition within the tribe, and there is much strife of clan against clan, but at seasons of harvest there is peace, and both men and women can go from village to village to drink beer and form marriage alliances. At such times weapons are laid aside, and men of different clans intermingle without fear, but at other times men who wish to enter the district of another clan go in small parties, well armed. A man is seldom called upon to travel far from his home. Ten miles was probably the extent of an ordinary journey before tribal barriers were broken down by the coming of the British; within such a confined area a man found all that he required for existence. Clothing, if any was worn, consisted of an animal skin roughly dressed and tied, in the case of a woman, round the waist, and in the case of a man, round the neck, leaving one side exposed. Among many tribes clothing, even of skins, is not used; and both men and women go naked. Instead of the skin dress women

sometimes make themselves skirts of grass, but unmarried women and girls seldom wear any clothing, and dress is often a sign of marriage. Among these unclothed and semi-clothed people there are certain strict rules of morality, and no man would violate any girl of his own clan.

We find among them no idea of a common ruler and no recognition of a chief of a district. Each small group of huts contains some five or six families who do not accept the authority of any other group. Often the inhabitants of a village are closely related; a father builds his hut soon after marriage, and as his sons grow to marriageable age, they too build near by, and thus the little group of four or five huts composes the village. In other cases two men who are friends build adjoining huts and their sons as they grow up build near by, thus forming a larger village. Seldom, however, do the villages exceed ten huts, because the young men are apt to break away and seek new ground upon which to settle. This may well be accounted for by the desire to avoid friction in settlements where there is no ruler, and the only law is the word of the oldest member or of the man chosen by common consent to be 'father' of the village. His word is generally upheld by other members of the village, and any disturbance is punished by fine, which is as a rule the heaviest penalty imposed. In cases of murder among the Bakyiga, where tempers are uncertain, the culprit, when discovered, is buried alive with his victim. In other crimes a fine is deemed sufficient, though sometimes the culprit is also driven from the village, his goods being confiscated by the elders.

The buildings of these people are of the most primitive construction. The frame consists of a dome of stout

sticks which are pushed a few inches into the ground in a circle, and bent over inwards, with their ends tied together by strips of bark; upon this dome grass is laid as thatch, and the building is completed in a few hours. The floor is simply the earth smoothed, and the bed of the owner and his wife consists of a bundle of grass, with a hide thrown upon it in the case of wealthy people, while the children sleep on the bare floor. A fire of wood is kept burning day and night, so that the room is warm, and bedclothing becomes unnecessary.

The staple food is porridge made from the grain of the small millet. This is ground to a coarse gritty flour between two stones; and porridge made of this flour forms the chief meal, which is eaten in the evening about sunset. Sometimes a little food, usually left over from the evening meal, is eaten in the morning, and often a man will roast a few cobs of maize or a sweet potato at noon, but these items are regarded as luxuries rather than necessities. The members of the family sit round the pot, helping themselves with their hands as long as the food lasts. Seasoning for food is a luxury, and a packet of salt is a welcome gift. The food is sometimes dipped into the salt, but more frequently a pot of edible weeds, boiled and mixed with a little salt, is set before the family with the porridge, and each person dips his porridge into the pot before conveying it to his mouth. A man and his wife and their children gather round the same pot for meals.

Marriage customs are simple; and, as the main desire is to avoid the intermarriage of closely related persons, clan exogamy is the rule. Descent is reckoned through the male line; a man chooses a wife and marries her after paying a marriage fee. The amount of this fee is

fixed by the parents in the case of some tribes, but it is more usual for the bride's uncle, her father's brother, in conjunction with her own brother to fix the fee, which is then divided among the members of her father's clan. The amount is reckoned in cows or goats, the cow being the standard of value. In some tribes it is customary for men to exchange their sisters instead of paying any marriage fee. This bartering of women, while it is not regarded as selling them into slavery, has some of the characteristics of bondage, for a woman cannot leave the husband to whom she is thus married without obtaining the consent of her clan and restoring the amount which he paid for her. No woman claims to have any right over the child which she bears, nor can the father claim sole right over it, but it belongs to the clan. When weaned it is taken away to some near relative of the father, and this relative is held responsible to the clan for it. The wife brings her husband's child into the world, but the husband has the right to determine her duties, of which the chief is to provide vegetable-food for him. Any clan brother of her husband may approach the woman's couch without fear of her husband's wrath. Should the husband take a second wife, he must build another hut for her in his village. Among those tribes which recognise plurality of wives there is seldom any sign of jealousy.

My observations in East Africa in general lead me to think that where patrilineal descent is followed the husband takes his bride from her home and surroundings to his own clan and relations, but when descent is matrilineal the husband marries his wife and provides a home for her among her own people. The latter custom is followed by the few tribes which I have met in the

Tanganyika colony, but in the Lake district descent is always reckoned through the male line.

Among the tribes in the Lake district there are in existence two opposite customs; among some the men allow their clan brothers the use of their wives, while among others, which are the more enlightened and educated tribes, the men guard their wives and keep them for themselves, and any disobedience in this respect on the part of the wife may be punished by death, even if the offender is a clan brother of her husband.

There is considerable divergence in the method of disposing of the dead, but it seems to me that burial is a recent custom, and that in earlier times the dead were cast out into the bush. Among some of the more primitive usages was the custom of fetching back the chief parts of the body and eating them during the days of mourning. In all cases mourning is important, but the purpose of it is not to express affection and grief, but to safeguard the mourners against the superhuman powers of the ghost. The various customs of dealing with the dead which we now know probably all arose from the belief in a future life, the ghost being able to assist or to hinder people. The ceremonious treatment of the body after death gives the ghost pleasure, whereas its ire would be aroused by careless treatment which would show that its departure from this life was not regretted. The reason given for eating the body, or portions of it, is that this frees the ghost from this world and enables it to go to the other life. Again, the various offerings laid with the body in the grave and the offerings made to it later on are intended to placate the ghost and assure it that it is not forgotten and that its absence

is regretted. Ghosts have their own special abode, more often than not near the place of their earthly dwelling, where they observe what is done by their living relatives. This interest of ghosts in the doings of the living has a marked and beneficial effect upon the clan members. Any irregularity is punished by the ghost, especially if it happens to be adultery within the prohibited degree of relationship or marriage. Again a ghost is able to guard the living and to induce the wealthier members of the clan to help its relatives and give them presents.

A common weapon of these primitive people is a heavy club, while the most formidable is a rude iron spear; a few arrows of wood, sometimes tipped with iron, are also used. Women, the chief workers in the fields, are also the potters, and their pots are thick and clumsy, with few attempts at decoration. They are built up in a spiral fashion, the clay being smoothed with the hand and afterwards with a bit of gourd shell.

Such I imagine were the inhabitants whom the later invaders found dwelling in most parts of the Lake region. We now turn to the later invaders, who are all pastoral people, and who state that their forefathers came from the north or north-east. The question as to who these invaders were is still unanswered, though there is reason to think that they are connected with the Galla tribes. The most conservative of them are the Banyankole, whose social customs have long resisted outside influence and have only begun to break down within my own memory. These pastoral people of Ankole are admitted by the other tribes to be the oldest of the Bahuma tribes in the Lake region. Though this is so, they have retained the purest blood of all the tribes

I have examined. This fact I attribute to their religious customs and their belief in sympathetic magic in connection with the milk and cattle customs as I shall explain in due course. The life of the tribe is entirely devoted to the interests of the cattle. All social customs have to fall into line with what is believed to assist in the increase and welfare of the cattle; all that is considered harmful either to the cows or to the milk must be avoided. The people are nomads, their homes being temporary structures, because in a few days, or at most a few weeks, they must move on to new fields of pasture for their cattle.

When these people first entered the plains with their large herds of cattle, there can have been no cause of friction between them and the original inhabitants. The inhabitants remained attached to their small plots of land which they cultivated to yield their yearly supply of grain and vegetables, while the invaders required the large grassy plains unsuited for agricultural purposes. The two sets of people could thus live in the same district without danger of falling foul of each other. When, however, friendships were made and the question of intermarriage arose, the pastoral people resented the suggestion of allowing their women to marry agricultural men, though illicit relations between pastoral men and agricultural women might not have aroused resentment, and would have been disregarded so long as the men did not attempt to introduce women of the agricultural class into their homes and clans. These pastoral tribes were totemic and had strict laws regarding clan exogamy. They seem to have restricted generally a man to one wife, unless this wife was childless, in which case it would be permissible for the husband to

take a second wife. If a man had reason to divorce his wife, he might take another. It was not a sense of morality that restricted a man to one wife or made him put away his first wife before he took a second, but rather the limited supply of milk. A man must be able to provide a wife with milk, for that was the staple food, and any infringement of this custom was thought to have dire effects upon the cattle and to endanger the existence of the tribe. Polygyny was not actually forbidden, but it was uncommon. Polyandry, on the other hand, was quite common, owing to the inability of many men to procure a sufficient number of cows to pay the marriage fee and afterwards to supply the wife and family with milk as food. Vegetable diet was forbidden, for milk had to be kept apart in the stomach from any vegetable matter. If any man through adverse circumstances was forced to eat such food, he had to fast for a considerable time before drinking milk, to make sure that there was no danger of contaminating the milk and affecting the whole herd by sympathetic magic. After eating vegetable food an aperient was necessary, to make sure that the stomach was cleansed and that there would be no danger in his resuming his milk diet. Other foods often eaten by the agricultural class, such as fish, eggs, or fowls, were regarded with disgust, and there was little need to point out to anyone the necessity of avoiding such things. This formed a safeguard against marriage with other races. Another reason for avoiding marriage with agricultural women was that they were the chief tillers of the land, and any manual labour which did not minister to the need of the cattle was considered injurious to the herds; pastoral women were expected to be always sleek and fat and to avoid all

manner of work. Their presence in the kraal was considered to be beneficial to the herds. A man from the pastoral people would therefore generally refrain from sexual relations with a woman of the agricultural class, lest he should injure the herds by sympathetic magic.

The pastoral people, being of a better physical type and having greater moral courage than the ordinary negro, sooner or later made the agricultural people subservient and assumed lordship over them. This power was exerted when the more influential pastoral men required weapons or household utensils or more durable houses than they were accustomed to build for themselves, the agricultural men being then called upon to give their labour and supply the need. Thus the agricultural people became serfs to their superiors and supplied them with all their necessities, even with the beer which they required for drinking when they ate beef and were not allowed to drink milk. Moreover they took a willing part in any war of their superiors, in the hope of obtaining plunder. The more carefully the customs of these pastoral people are examined, the more impossible it appears for one of their women to marry a man of the agricultural class. She would rather die than suffer the degradation of marrying such a husband.

Morality among young girls of the pastoral class was particularly strict, and a mother was responsible for her daughter's character until she married. If the girl went wrong, she was liable to be put to death together with her seducer, and her parents seldom sought to shield her, but would even be among the first to condemn her. The guilty girl might not go out by the ordinary gate of the enclosure through which the cattle had to pass,

but a way was broken in the fence, and through this she was dragged to her death. This rigid enforcement of custom was intended to ensure the safety of the herd, for the people believed that the cows would cast their calves, or the calves would die, if the guilty person was allowed to live.

It should also be noted that marriage had to take place in the evening. The bride's arrival at her new home was timed to coincide with the return of the cows from pasture, and female calves were taken a little way along the path to meet her and conduct her to her new home. As she entered the kraal, she scattered grain which bears most fruit on the ground upon which the cows stood during the following night. In each case we notice the belief in sympathetic magic; the bride's influence works upon the herd and calves, and the grain strengthens the beneficent effect of her arrival upon the herd.

Though the bride up to the time of her marriage had been carefully guarded against any sexual relations with men, yet after marriage she was expected to welcome to her couch any of her husband's brothers and friends whom he might bring to spend the night with him. Such a reversal of our ideas of morality can only be explained by comparison with the customs adopted for increasing and strengthening the herds.

Having thus briefly stated the extreme cases of the agricultural and pastoral classes which I have been able to examine among the most primitive tribes, it remains to note the influence of these invaders upon the original inhabitants, and the reflex influence upon themselves of contact with agricultural people. For this purpose it is necessary to take particular groups of people. In the first instance I will take the Bakitara, whose milk

customs are breaking down, though the process is not yet complete. These people to-day permit, under certain circumstances, pastoral women to marry men from an agricultural tribe. The practice is said to have begun several generations back, when a king found certain men of the agricultural class to be most useful and capable. They were raised to the rank of free-men and told that they might marry any women from the pastoral tribe who were willing to accept them. Their new rank raised them above the agricultural class, and as they were wealthy, having herds of cattle, there were found women willing to accept them as husbands. These came mostly from the homes of herdsmen who found it difficult to get food for their families or good husbands for their daughters; the change from poverty to comparative wealth was welcome. The men raised to this estate were not allowed to move about among the pastoral people as equals in all respects, but they took their places in councils and were treated with respect. The effect of the intermarriage was reciprocal, for the influence of his wife and his new associations refined the man in many respects, while he enriched the woman and to some extent widened her outlook, especially where food was concerned. Gradually other food was introduced in place of a purely milk diet, and the children became accustomed to partake of vegetable food as a matter of course. We also find new totems introduced, as children evidently took those of both their parents and formed new clans. Agricultural people then began to imitate their superiors in matters of marriage; girls were given in marriage much earlier than formerly, they had a period of preparation for marriage, and the marriage took place in the evening as among the pastoral people. The com-

munistic idea about the wife became universal, and a woman was not called unfaithful if she had relations with a man of her husband's clan. Property became common to the clan and not the sole possession of the individual. The king, however, still claimed a right to any cattle which he might wish to appropriate, though this right was not used freely as heretofore, but only at special times, and the taking of cattle was regarded as levying a tax. In earlier times the eldest son was regarded as the heir, but later this was not always the case, though in the majority of instances he succeeded to the property. The clan had the right of choosing the heir, and the king usually confirmed the choice.

Among the pastoral people milk customs began to be less strictly observed and vegetable food was introduced; people even drank milk soon after a meal of other food. Agricultural people began, with the consent of their superiors, to keep cows and to improve their existence by imitating the pastoral people. The nomadic life of the pastoral people ceased; only a few herdsmen wandered about with the cattle, while the wealthier cattle-owners settled in some place near the king.

The huts of the pastoral people began to be improved, as the owner settled in a permanent habitation and surrounded himself with subordinates, who would render him assistance either with his herds of cattle or in his fields, or by building for him when necessary, or by fighting, should there be cause. Village life thus sprang into existence, and communities, which before had been restricted to members of the same families, now increased in size and included members of various clans. Under the new conditions of life herds were restricted to special places, and if allowed in the

village the animals were kept in enclosures which were always at some distance from the enclosures of the king or the chiefs. This was mainly for reasons of sanitation which now began to be considered. Land assumed a new value; pastoral land was no longer the only land of importance, but areas of arable land were also carefully sought for and zealously guarded. The growth of village communities called for new laws, and these were made by the ruler or king, who during the gradual changes had assumed greater powers. His chief power lay in the fact that he was thought to possess special and superior knowledge, and was regarded as divine or in such close communion with the divinity that he could help the whole nation in difficulties, such as drought, famine, or illness.

With the making of laws came in the idea of taxation. The king, who as a pastoral chief claimed all the cattle, now allowed that claim to be disregarded, but instituted definite ownership of land with rules for bringing to him in return food-stuffs and other things necessary for the new conditions of life. Later there came into existence more extended taxation, not only in the form of food and produce, but also of state labour and annual rent for land occupied, though there was as yet no restriction as to the amount of land a man might till; each man was free to cultivate land where he would and as much as he wished. The peasants, who were the original owners of the land and free agents, have become the serfs of the chiefs and subjects of the king. The king in turn has had to regulate his laws and customs so as to provide for the serf and his requirements; he has also had to broaden the scope of his religious ceremonies, for in the past these have dealt exclusively with the cattle and their needs.

The agricultural people are beginning to imitate their masters and to change their habits. At marriage the fee is now paid in cows; the bride is prepared for marriage in much the same fashion as a pastoral bride; she goes to her husband in the evening, veiled, and when it is possible she is carried, and she has a period of seclusion after marriage. In some birth customs, too, the pastoral people are followed. The birth of twins is considered to be due to the direct influence of the gods. The parents of twins are favoured with divine interposition and are enabled thereby to dispense gifts and blessings; for this purpose they are gladly welcomed to various places that they may bestow their blessing upon people, cattle, and land. This ceremony they perform by sprinkling the people, cattle, and land with a mixture of sacred white clay and their urine.

Death ceremonies among the agricultural people show a marked change, for now they seldom cast out their dead nor do they, as was the habit in certain places, eat them, but bury them with marks of reverence. The pastoral people continue to make their cattle take a part in the mourning; on the first evening after the death of a chief his cows are not milked, and the calves are kept from them, so that both cows and calves low all night; the mature bulls are not allowed to mate again with the cows, but are killed as soon as possible after the death. During the period of mourning the bulls are killed beside the grave, as offerings to the dead, at intervals of one or two days, to allow time for the meat of the bulls to be eaten by the mourners; they reside near the grave and eat beef, but must not drink milk. The length of the mourning is determined by the wealth of the deceased and the number of bulls to be killed. Cows

are also often dedicated to the dead; these are kept alive, and their milk is daily offered at a shrine; here it stands for a time, and afterwards it is drunk by the heir and certain members of his family as a sacred meal in communion with the ghost.

Changes in religious ideas were also caused by the adaptation and interweaving of the religious opinions of the pastoral and agricultural people. In the religion of both the Creator is shut out from all direct worship, while his sons are supposed to work for him in regulating the affairs of the world. The god of plenty has now to take upon himself not only the care of cattle, but also the interests of agriculture and the welfare of the people. There is not, however, any developed form of worship such as is found among the more advanced people of Buganda. It is still the ghosts who do most for the living; and to these superhuman beings more attention is given than to any of the gods whose worship is professed. Ghosts are said to be able to influence the chiefs and other persons possessing power to help the poor; and they can warn their living relatives when danger threatens them. They can also injure members of other clans and bring troubles such as sickness and death, when asked to do so. It is therefore necessary to keep them in the right frame of mind, lest they should consider themselves neglected or offended through the indiscretion of any member of the clan, and retaliate by causing some calamity; infringement of clan-custom might cause the ghost annoyance, and its displeasure would then be evidenced especially by sickness among the young. It is accordingly to the interest of the clan members to inter the body of the deceased with due respect and afterwards to make sacrifices to him,

thus keeping the ghost amiable and securing his help. The pastoral people had fuller and more elaborate usages of dealing with the ghosts, and these have been passed on to the agricultural people, who in earlier times did not honour their dead to such an extent.

From these people of Bunyoro and Ankole we turn to the Baganda, among whom the greatest progress has been made. Here agricultural and pastoral people have become so fused that no dividing line remains, and the people are merged into one great tribe under a powerful king, who has divided his country into large districts with important chiefs to rule them. The land is the all-important possession, and it has taken the place which the cows originally held. It is regarded as the property of the king who, though he doles it out for management to the chiefs, himself retains the sole right to it. Even the king cannot dispose of it, but must pass it on intact to his successor. The cows have receded to an unimportant place among the necessities of daily life, though they are still reckoned as the standard of wealth. They do not, however, as in Ankole, mark a man by their presence or absence as important or unimportant; this point is decided by the land which he rules as chief. An important chief may have fewer cows than one of his subordinates, for he may have exchanged his cows for wives, lest he should cause some other chief or his king to become jealous and seek to plunder him.

With the fusion of the two classes there came new rules for social life and a more settled form of government. The chiefs are magistrates who hold their courts in their country residences, though litigants have the right to appeal from a lower to a higher court and even,

if dissatisfied, to the king's court. Laws are made by the king in open court, and chiefs see to it that they are enforced. The king sends his tax-gatherer annually into each district with instructions as to the sum which he is to collect. The king's residence is a regular town; his enclosure with its hundreds of huts assumes much greater proportions than the royal residence of any neighbouring country. Every chief has both a town and country residence. In the capital a portion of land is granted to him, and he is not allowed to build on any other site; from the capital to his country residence he is required to build a good road and to bridge each river and swamp, thus making it possible to reach the farthest part of the country without trouble.

In regard to marriage customs polygyny, which in earlier times was exceptional, has become universal; the rule that clan brothers have the right of access to each other's wives ceases, and each man retains his wife or wives as his own property. On the other hand, clan socialism holds good, so that all the property a man may mass together is, at his death, disposed of by the head of the clan in consultation with the leaders of it, and a man's sons may take nothing of their father's without clan consent. Men retain the pastoral dislike to tilling the land, for that is the work of women, while men are builders, warriors, and artisans. The subjugation of surrounding tribes has become a matter of concern to chiefs and their subjects; and there is a marked advance in the workmanship of weapons, pottery, buildings, and in sanitation. The clothing consists of either bark-cloth or well-dressed skins; the home is furnished with beds and other comforts; but it remains a crime for a man to sit on a stool, and a woman would be instantly put

to death if she sat on a raised seat¹. These are survivals of old customs.

The features and physical structure have undergone a considerable change, and few people retain the distinctive Muhuma features. The nose is broader, the lips thicker, and the frame has broadened, while the height is slightly less than that of the pure pastoral tribes.

The advance in religious ideas among the Baganda is great, though the clans still retain their veneration for ghosts and indeed raise them to a much higher position, those of notable persons being given the rank of gods. The ritual of the worship of these gods has become elaborate, and the huts of the priests assume the dignity of temples. In these, together with the priests, there reside mediums, who are able to hold communication with the gods and to give oracles, especially in cases of sickness.

In the position of the national gods we see a great change, since four gods are singled out to meet the particular needs of the nation, the gods of Abundance, of War, of Plague, and of Rain. Each of the first three has his temple, which is kept in repair by the state; he has large estates and possessions, and his chief priest is a person who claims the respect of every chief and with whom even the king is careful to keep on friendly terms. These gods are said to have a divine origin, but we know, from the fact that we have in the University museum the relics of the god of war, that he was a human being, and that the jaw-bone with other relics formed the emblem or figure of the god. The public can approach these gods only occasionally, because offerings of value have to be presented; and only the

¹ With the advent of British rule these customs have ceased.

king and wealthy chiefs can consult them privately. These gods with the exception of the rain-god (Musoke) are terrestrial, but Musoke is celestial. It is evident from the method of obtaining favours from him that the people were at one time in a difficulty. They knew the requirements of the other gods, but with Musoke they were at a loss. To solve the problem they married him to a native woman, who in time became a goddess, and through her the people make their requests to Musoke for rain or fair weather.

There remains one temple more to be mentioned and that perhaps the most important in the land, differing from the others in many respects. It is the temple of a late king. When a king of Buganda died, he was not buried; indeed no one might say that the king was dead, for that would have been to admit that there was some power stronger than his, a fact which was always denied. That the 'fire is extinct' was all that might be said; and the king was supposed to be present in another form. The body underwent a long process of mummifying, which lasted six months. It was then taken to a hut on a hill-top in a part of the country which was reserved for the tombs of kings. The body was laid on a frame of wood, and the building was filled with bark-cloths, skin mantles, and other offerings, and sealed by having the entrance blocked and made to look like part of the roof, so that no doorway showed from the outside. Round this tomb the principal widows, with certain important chiefs who held office under the dead king, stood with their backs to the tomb and were clubbed to death. There was no force used in securing these victims, who went voluntarily, regarding death as an honour, because they expected to accompany the king and retain

their offices about him in the other life. A strong fence was built round the tomb forming a courtyard and it was here that these people were killed; there their bodies were left, lying where they fell. Another fence was built round the first, and inside this outer fence captives, often numbering as many as five hundred, were put to death. It took two or three days to kill these victims, and their bodies also were left where they fell, a guard being set to keep off birds and beasts of prey. Certain widows were then sent to take charge of the tomb, their duty being to guard the courtyards and till the land around. At the end of six months a chief opened the tomb and, making his way to the body, removed the jawbone, brought it out, and secured the tomb as before. The jawbone was cleansed, until it was free from any flesh or perishable matter, and was wrapped in a portion of a lion-skin, which was stitched tightly over it and decorated with beads and cowry-shells. The whole was placed in a stool whose top was fashioned like a bowl; and the stool with its contents was wrapped in a leopard-skin and bark-cloth. The decorated jawbone was taken to a temple which the departed king had built during his lifetime within his enclosure. With it was put the stump of the king's umbilical cord, which also was decorated. These relics became the objects to which the ghost of the king attached itself; and a man who had been one of the king's constant attendants during life became the medium through whom any communications with him might be made. This medium was not always under the influence of the ghost; there were times when he might walk about and visit like an ordinary person, but he was required to live in the temple and to be ready at any time to impersonate the

king, who was said to take entire possession of him and cause him to lose his own identity. During the process of preparing the body for interment this man, with some of the widows of the departed king, had to drink the beer and milk in which the dead body was daily washed. This was supposed to imbue them with the qualities of the deceased and fit them for their future offices as mediums and guardians. During the time that the medium was under the influence of the ghost he spoke and gesticulated as the king had done. I have seen and heard one of these mediums when under the spell, and I feel sure the action was hypnotic, probably caused by auto-suggestion.

The king's successor had to build his capital on another site, but this might be near that of his predecessor where the temple stood. The old enclosure was kept in regal state by the new king, the upkeep being a charge upon the state. The reigning king was expected to go once each year to this temple, when he was accompanied by large numbers of people. It was a state visit carried out with all the pomp that the king could command. He entered the temple, the relics were brought before him, and each of them was handed to him for examination. When he left the enclosure, he was supposed to be moved by sad memories of the past and with grief for his predecessor, and suddenly on the road he stood still and commanded that all the people who were within a certain distance on the road should be captured. These were seized by the king's guard, taken back to the temple and offered in sacrifice to the departed to form part of his retinue in the other world. This ended the annual ceremony for the departed king. The point I wish to note is that the belief of the whole nation was

such that they not only entered into the ordinary worship of the gods, but took a part even in this and other ceremonies, which involved a large loss of life. In no case of human sacrifice was resentment ever shown by the people; the victims even went willingly to death after capture, though they might attempt to escape capture. The people accepted these things as necessary for the good of the nation.

No two kings might have their temples on the same hill, and no two tombs might be on the same hill, for each hill so occupied became sacred to the king whose temple or tomb was on it. The chiefs and widows were put in charge and members from their clans kept up a relay of guardians, replacing anyone who died, so that the traditions were orally handed down from generation to generation with remarkable freshness. The queen was the first chief guardian of the temple, and when she died, her successor was chosen from the princesses.

This lecture would be incomplete without mention of the influence of the Arabs and the British upon the natives during the past few years. First I shall deal briefly with the influence exerted by the Arabs, though they never remained for more than a few years at a time.

Arab traders probably first found their way into Uganda between 1840 and 1850, their object being to purchase slaves and ivory. They carried with them cotton goods, muzzle-loading guns, and a supply of ammunition for bartering. During their stay they introduced various innovations which we must regard as reforms, foremost among them being sanitation and building. They introduced square houses which were more roomy and allowed more light into the rooms than the old beehive huts. A greater improvement was the

substitution of the cesspool for the custom of resorting to uncultivated plots in the neighbourhood or to a field near the house. Another reform was the washing with soap; they taught the people to make soap from animal fat mixed with ashes from burnt plantain stems. Further, they taught the making of mats from the fronds of the wild palm trees which are abundant in some parts of the swampy land. Reading and writing in Arabic characters was taught to a few, but did not make great headway, because the Arabs only taught those who wished to adopt the Mussulman faith. The greatest evil they introduced was venereal disease, spread through the princesses. These women were many and were free to roam about as they wished, but were not allowed to marry. They soon found that the Arabs were willing to pay them in goods if they would go and live with them. These princesses carried the infection to their other paramours, the chiefs, who in their turn spread the disease through their wives. Though the Arabs did not spend many years in the country, they left behind them marked changes most of which were on the whole beneficial.

It is, however, to the British that we must give the credit for the great and lasting reforms in this region; and these are still in progress. The missionaries taught new religious ideas and ended the toll of human sacrifice; they also taught arts and crafts, so that now there are to be found carpenters, brickmakers, bricklayers, printers, and other artisans, while reading and writing have spread apace. Since the British government took over the country, good roads have been made upon which motor traffic, worked by natives, is daily passing. Motor bicycles are to be seen and even motor cars, used

by chiefs and progressive wealthy men. The lake is navigated by good ships, many of them manned by natives; there are telegraphs worked by natives; and they have also large estates where cotton is grown and ginneries worked, so that the cotton is made ready for shipment entirely by the labour of natives. In the offices of the Government natives are to be found as trusted clerks, and their country is managed by them in a creditable manner. These wonderful improvements have come about through the presence of the British, who are still working there among them and treat them as friends and helpers.

Old customs have broken down, and wherever this has happened, before anything of a better nature could take their place, vices have crept in, which are corrupting the natives. It is a time of transition from the old heathen customs to Christianity and Western civilisation, and for the moment the people are in many cases suffering. What we can confidently say is that there are many noble characters in this wide area; and it is to be hoped that the natives will in the long run emerge a splendid race with the best of the British traditions as their ideals.

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